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E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)
SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY OSWALD JOHNSTON APPEARS IN WASHINGTON STAR-NEWS TODAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1974, TITLED "ISRAELI DOUBTS SEEP TO SURFACE"

2. THE RECENT ARAB SUMMIT'S ENDORSEMENT OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION HAS BROUGHT TO THE SURFACE SERIOUS POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL THAT WERE LATENT BEFORE THE RABAT MEETING BUT MAY NOW BE UN-AVOIDABLE.

3. THESE DIFFERENCES CONCERN TACTICS RATHER THAN FUNDAMENTALS AND THEY RELATE MORE TO AN INTERPRETATION OF ARAB MOTIVES THAN TO THE BASIC U. S. - ISRAELI COMMITMENT TO A NEGOTIATED PEACE.

4. BUT THEY ARE SERIOUS ENOUGH IN ISRAELI EYES TO CALL
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INTO QUESTION SOME OF SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER'S

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NEGOTIATING METHODS, AND THEY WILL CERTAINLY BE A SOURCE OF DISAGREEMENT WHEN KISSINGER STOPS IN JERUSALEM DURING HIS PLANNED MIDDLE EAST SWING NEXT WEEK.

5. RABAT ITSELF IS THE BASIC CAUSE OF THE CHIEF OF THESE PROBLEMS. AFTER KISSINGER'S LAST MIDDLE EAST TRIP LAST

MONTH, ISRAELI LEADERS WERE LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THE AMERICANS HAD WON A FIRM COMMITMENT FROM ARAB MODERATE, ESPECIALLY EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA AND JORDAN, TO LIMIT THE PLO ROLE AT THE SUMMIT.

6. SPECIFICALLY, ACCORDING TO INFORMED DIPLOMATIC SOURCES, THESE UNDERSTANDINGS INCLUDED A COMMITMENT TO KEEP JORDAN'S KING HUSSEIN IN A COMMANDING ROLE IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE FUTURE OF THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK TERRITORIES OF JORDAN.

7. PART OF THE FORMULA, IT WAS HOPED, INVOLVED LIMITING THE PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATION TO A JOINT ROLE WITH HUSSEIN AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STILL-NATIONLESS PALESTINIANS. ONE POSSIBILITY WAS A FORMULA SUCH AS EGYPT BRIEFLY ENDORSED LAST SUMMER BEFORE YIELDING TO MORE MILITANT ARABS, WHICH WOULD HAVE NAMED THE PLO THE "LEGITIMATE" BUT NOT THE "SOLE" REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIANS.

8. U. S. OFFICIALS CLOSE TO THE PROBLEM WERE DOUBTFUL LONG BEFORE RABAT THAT ANY SUCH COMPROMISE WOULD HAVE BEEN POSS-IBLE. PRIVATELY, IT WAS FELT THAT EGYPT'S PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT MADE A SERIOUS NEGOTIATING ERROR LAST JULY WHEN HE TEMPORARILY EMBRACED THIS FORMULA, BECAUSE HIS RETREAT FROM IT UNDER POLITICAL PRESSURE FROM THE PALESTINIANS, THE SYRIANS AND ARAB NATIONALISTS AT HOME FORECLOSED ANY EGYPTIAN MODERATION ON THE PLO ISSUE.

9. NEVERTHELESS, IN THE UNACCOUNTABLE MOOD OF OPTIMISM KISSINGER TOOK WITH HIM ON HIS PRE-SUMMIT TRIP, THE ISRAELIS WERE LEFT WITH EXPECTATIONS THAT, IN THE EVENT, WERE TOTALLY DISAPPOINTED. ACCORDING TO ALL ACCOUNTS OF THE SUMMIT SO FAR AVAILABLE, THE "MODERATES" MADE NO ATTEMPT
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EVEN TO ARGUE FOR A LIMITED PLO ROLE.

10. ACCORDINGLY, SOME OF KISSINGER'S OTHER ASSURANCES OF ARAB INTENTIONS ARE NOW BEING LOOKED AT WITH GROWING SUS-PICION AND SKEPTICISM BY THE ISRAELIS.

11. EVEN BEFORE THE SUMMIT, ISRAELI OFFICIALS NOTED WITH CONCERN A "HARDENING" IN THE EGYPTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD A

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PEACE SETTLEMENT. THEY NOTICED A TENDENCY TO COZY UP TO THE SOVIET UNION - ALWAYS THE ARCH-VILLAIN IN ISRAELI EYES.

12. THEY REGARDED AS A FLAT VIOLATION OF THE SPIRIT OF LAST WINTER'S DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT A RECENT DECLARATION BY SADAT THAT THE SUEZ CANAL WOULD NOT BE REOPENED UNTIL MORE ISRAELI-HELD TERRITORY IN THE SINAI IS TURNED OVER.

13. KISSINGER AND HIS NEGOTIATING TEAM TRIED TO EXPLAIN THESE SIGNS AS NECESSARY "TACTICS" WHICH THE EGYPTIANS HAD TO GO THROUGH BEFORE THE RABAT SUMMIT IF THEY WERE TO KEEP NEGOTIATING ACCORDING TO KISSINGER'S PIECE-BY-PIECE SCHEDULE

14. THE ISRAELIS ARGUED THAT THE NEW EGYPTIAN LINE BETOKENE A FUNDAMENTAL NEW STRATEGY OF INTRANSIGENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD. THEY RELATED THE NEW STRATEGY TO THE GROWING IN-FLUENCE OF PLO DOCTRINE, TO THE GROWING DOMINANCE OF ARAB OIL IN THE WORLD ECONOMY AND - EVENTUALLY - TO THE PROB-ABILITY OF A RENEWED WAR NEXT SPRING.

15. THE DISAGREEMENT ON THIS SCORE IS UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE BEEN SERIOUS AND INTENSE. IN THE ISRAELI VIEW, THE COLLAPSE OF "MODERATE" HOPES AT RABAT CAN ONLY DEEPEN THIS DISAGREE-MENT WITH THE KISSINGER VIEW.

16. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL CAST A SUSPICIOUS EYE ON ANOTHER ASSURANCE THEY RECEIVED FROM THE AMERICANS LAST MONTH. THIS IS THE PROPOSITION THAT EGYPT WILL BE WILLING TO ACCEPT THE "ELEMENTS" OF A NON-BELLIGERENCY AGREEMENT IN RETURN FOR MORE SINAI TERRITORY, EVEN THOUGH THEY WOULD REJECT A FORMAL NON-AGGRESSION PACT.

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17. THIS CHARACTERISTICALLY KISSINGERIAN FORMULA DERIVES FROM THE ISRAELI INSISTENCE THAT FURTHER TERRITORIAL WITH-DRAWAL IN THE SINAI WOULD HAVE TO BE BALANCED BY TANGIBLE AND ENFORCEABLE SIGNS FROM THE EGYPTIANS THAT THEY WILL NOT START A NEW WAR.

18. THE EGYPTIANS, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE SEEN AS UNABLE TO MAKE A PUBLIC PROMISE THEY WON'T MAKE WAR SO LONG AS THE VIRTUALLY INSOLUBLE PROBLEM OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS IS UN-RESOLVED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT'S ALLY, SYRIA. THE EGYPTIANS HAVE PLEDGED TO OPEN A FRONT IN THE SINAI IF FULL-SCALE WAR BREAKS OUT AGAIN ON THE SYRIAN BORDER.

19. ACCORDINGLY, KISSINGER HOPED TO NEGOTIATE THE "ELEMENTS OF A PACT WITHOUT ACTUALLY FORMALIZING IT BY NAME: A PACKAGE

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OF TANGIBLE CONCESSIONS SUCH AS OPENING THE SUEZ CANAL; A FIRM AGREEMENT TO LET ISRAELI CARGO PASS THROUGH THE EGYPT-CONTROLLED BBAL MANDED STRAITS AT THE FOOT OF THE RED SEA; AN AGREEMENT TO LET ISRAELI CITIZENS OR CARGOES ABOARD FOREIGN SHIPS PASS THROUGH THE CANAL.

20. BEYOND THESE SPECIFIC DISAGREEMENTS LIE A POTENTIALLY SERIOUS AND POSSIBLY WIDENING DIFFERENCE IN HOW TO PERCEIVE
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THE WHOLE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM.

21. TO THE ISRAELIS, RABAT IS PROOF THAT THE ARABS - "MODERATE" OR NOT - FUNDAMENTALLY INTEND THE DESTRUCTION OF THEIR NATION AS A JEWISH STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IN THIS APOCALYPTIC VIEW, THE EMERGENCE OF THE PLO AS A POLITICAL FORCE AT THE UNITED NATIONS AND ELSEWHERE ONLY MEANS THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD IS WILLING TO LOOK THE OTHER WAY.

22. THE ISRAELIS ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY RECENT INDICATIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES, FACED WITH THE "NEW REALITY" OF THE PLO'S EMERGENCE, IS DELIBERATELY KEEPING POLICY OPTIONS OPEN TO ACCEPT A PALESTINIAN ROLE IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS IF NEED BE.

23. THEY HAVE BEEN SPECIFICALLY ASSURED THAT KISSINGER WILL MAKE NO ATTEMPT TO PRESS ISRAEL TO HAVE ANY DIRECT DEALINGS
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WITH THE PALESTINIAN GROUP.

24. BUT THEY KNOW THAT U. S. POLICY FOR THE PAST YEAR IS BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA ARE WILLING TO COEXIST WITH AN ISRAELI STATE ONCE THE TERRITORIAL DISPUT IS SETTLED. NOW THERE IS TALK IN U. S. OFFICIAL CIRCLES OF A FUTURE INCARNATION OF THE PLO THAT MIGHT LIKEWISE ACCEPT THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL.

25. SO LONG AS THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS KEEPS GOING, IT IS ALMOST INEVITABLE THAT KISSINGER OR A FUTURE U. S. MEDIATOR WILL AT SOME POINT PRESS THE ISRAELIS TO EXTEND TRUST NOT ONLY TO THE EGYPTIANS, JORDANIANS AND SYRIANS, BUT TO THE PALESTINIANS AS WELL.

26. IN ISRAEL'S PRESENT MOOD, IT IS ALL BUT CERTAIN THEY WOULD GO TO WAR FIRST. BETTER TO FIGHT NOW, FROM THE PRESEN BORDERS, RUNS THE ARGUMENT, THAN BARGAIN AWAY SECURITY AND FACE CERTAIN EXTINCTION LATER ON. INGERSOLL

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